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AUTHOR Tabin, Yvonne; Coleman, Peter
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ABSTRACT

The experiences of recent women appointees to educational administration are compared to those of earlier female appointees. Indepth personal interviews were conducted with 17 female elementary school principals in British Columbia (Canada), 9 of whom were appointed after September 1987 and 8 of whom were appointed prior to September 1982. Results were categorized according to developmental experiences, career development, administrative beliefs and practices, and assessment of the experience. Findings indicate that recent appointees received greater male support, experienced less explicit sex discrimination and harassment, and possessed greater career initiatives and a more diverse range of teaching and administrative experience. Former appointees tended to accept their marginal status, but recently hired principals have embraced and accentuated the feminine character of leadership, articulating distinctive values to reshape the context and work of educational administration. Although both groups had to work harder than their male counterparts, they reported high levels of career satisfaction and expressed few regrets. (30 references) (LMI)

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JOINING THE OLD BOYS CLUB? WOMENS' CAREERS AS SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA, 1980 TO 1990

Yvonne Tabin & Peter Coleman

Simon Fraser University

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ABSTRACT

How do the experiences of recent women appointees (post-September, 1987) to elementary school principalships in British Columbia differ from those of earlier appointees (pre-September, 1982)? Interviews elicited information on Career development, which differentiated the groups. All were avid learners; but the recent group "sought out" expertise very deliberately.

With respect to Assessing the experience former appointees report discrimination, chauvinism and harassment; encountered sex-role stereotying; and had to work harder than men. Recent appointees report a double standard less consistently, but still had to work harder than the men. They cite the effects of affirmative action: opportunities are available because they are women. Recent appointees speak of the special skills of women as principals: women are more informed, more democratic, and better team members.

All these women report great satisfaction in their work; they find their jobs challenging and never boring. They have few regrets.

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Recent increases in the numbers of women assuming principalships in schools in British Columbia suggest that conditions encountered within the administrative world and hence the individual experiences of women appointees to the principalship might have changed. We therefore formulated the following research question: How do the experiences of recent women appointees to educational administration differ from those of earlier appointees?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In 1987, in Canada, 57% of all elementary and secondary school teachers. However, over 80% of all the principalships in elementary and secondary schools in that same year were occupied by men. In total 15% of all men teachers in elementary and secondary schools were principals yet only 3% of all the women teachers in elementary and secondary schools were principals (Statistics Canada, 1988). Educational administrators are recruited from the professional ranks, within which women are in the majority, yet still there are relatively few female administrators.

Several explanations for the scarcity of women in school administration have been offered which might explain these Canadian data: men are better principals, women are not sufficiently qualified, and women do not aspire to administration. These arguments merit exploration as they have had a firm grip on our collective beliefs in the past and perhaps continue to colour attitudes today. Additionally socialization to sex-role stereotypes, the career of teaching itself, and features of organizational structure and process which have an impact on women teachers and administrators have also been advanced to explain women's minimal representation in the administrative ranks.

Meskin (1974, 1979), Fishel and Pottker (1973, 1979) and Frasher & Frasher (1979) provide comprehensive reviews of the studies on women in administration. The early studies tended to show that women were slightly better elementary school principals than men. But Charters and Jovick (1981) contend that the number of studies comparing men and women principals, and the sex differences revealed, is very small, and that the methods of research are "of doubtful quality" (p. 307). These studies are also discounted by Charol Shakeshaft (1987) who maintains that the androcentric bias in educational administration theory and research measures women against male standards (p. 162). However, male superiority as administrators seems an untenable position in the face of these empirical studies.

The shortage of female candidates with adequate academic qualifications is often posited as limiting the numbers of women in school administration; this explanation can also now be discounted. During the 1970's women's participation in graduate programs of education increased dramatically. Doctoral programs in educational administration in the U.S. are now reporting that over fifty percent of their students are women (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Because women are competent and qualified yet only minimally represented it is often suggested that they simply do not aspire to leadership. The greater numbers of women qualifying indicate the reverse, however (Adkison, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1987).

Sex-role stereotyping and socialization have also been proposed as a barrier to the advancement of women to leadership roles (Adkison, 1981, p. 312). Surveys of central office administrators and school board members have shown that they tend to hold attitudes more favourable to men than women in administration (Adkison, 1981; Stockard, 1980; Taylor, 1977). Despite equal opportunity legislation, unfavourable attitudes continue to affect the appointment of women to administrative positions (Porat, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1986), particularly for advanced "line" positions (Fishel & Pottker, 1979; Schmuck & Wyant, 1981; Stockard, 1980).

The teaching profession enables women to move in and out easily as their life circumstances change. But the traditional definition of career includes commitment demonstrated by lack of interruptions (Biklen, 1986). Teaching has traditionally provided an entry into administrative careers primarily for men, who have an "up or out" orientation (Adkison, 1981). Senior administrators have assumed that women are not as committed to their careers as men and not as concerned with upward mobility (Biklen, 1986).

Organizational processes also affect the movement of women into administration. In anticipatory socialization, Adkison (1981) "the individual becomes oriented toward a new status before occupying it" (p. 332). Additionally, sponsorship is particularly important for aspirants to administrative posts (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988), and women have difficulty obtaining sponsorship from men (Ortiz, 1982). This is compounded by the small numbers of female role models for women, from which sponsors might be drawn (Carlson & Schmuck, 1981; Tibbets, 1979). Women in administration find, too, a lack of support from their male peers. Their ability to become part of the informal organizational network is limited by their exclusion from the "old-boys" network (Stockard, 1980; Tibbets, 1979) and compounded by the absence of an "old-girls" network. These informal processes and consequent uncertainty about leadership expectations certainly do prevent many women from formally applying for leadership positions (Adkison, 1981; Tibbets, 1979).

The absence of women in educational administration can also be explained by two factors which are not extensively explored in the literature, the sex-role beliefs of women in general, and their definition of career. The decision to parent at home, for whatever length of time, is one that continues primarily to affect the careers of women, perhaps accounting for the higher average age of women principals and their longer pre-administrative teaching careers (Paddock, 1981). Additionally, women do not define career and success as men do and consequently do not see administration as a logical career step up from the classroom (Biklen, 1986; Carlson &

Schmuck, 1981; Stockard, 1980). That is, leadership roles in education are desired by many women, but they do not see such roles as necessarily administrative (Shakeshaft, 1986; Stockard, 1980).

METHODOLOGY

Research in the area of educational administration has too often eliminated or ignored the female experience and point of view. Charol Shakeshaft (1987) accounts for this by explaining that "The funding of research, the objects of study, the use of research have to date been dominated by white males. Not unexpectedly, they have forged forms of thought within an all-male world" (p. 150). Ultimately, as she indicates, this has lead to the creation of a conception of the principalship that is essentially male. Biklen et al (1983) provide a broader discussion of the imprecise and inaccurate reflection of the account of human behaviour in many paradigms in the social and behavioural sciences because of assumptions that equate male activities with human activities. Biklen et al (1983) argue that "intellectually, we are taking leaps in the sociology of knowledge beyond a view of the world where 'man is the measure'. We are therefore confronted with the task of putting together a way of looking at the world, of reconceptualizing knowledge, so that all lives count" (p. 14).

An understanding of the situations of female principals from their perspective is necessary to help develop a greater understanding of the nature of the principalship overall within education. This study was intended to contribute by examining an important sub-issue; the basic research question was: "How do the experiences of recent women appointees to administration differ from those of earlier appointees?"

Data Collection

Since little descriptive research has been conducted in this area in Canada, open-ended interviews were determined to be the most effective and appropriate means of eliciting information from women principals about their careers.

A respondent group composed of both new and experienced principals was required. "Recent" was defined as appointment to the principalship in September of 1987 or later. "Former" was defined as appointment to the principalship in September of 1982 or earlier. Thus, recent appointees have had a maximum of two and a half years experience in the principalship and former appointees a minimum of eight years. Since very few high school principalships in British Columbia are held by women, the study was limited to principals at the elementary school level.

A series of questions were formulated regarding the:

(1) nature of elementary, high school and university education;

(2) types of teaching and administrative experience;

(3) formation of the decision to aspire to administration;
(4) impact of non-professional life on the career;
(5) appointment to the principalship;
(6) significance of gender on their career;
(7) influence and support from others;
(8) allocation of time between various responsibilities;
(9) individual sense of the principal's job;
(10) frustrations and satisfactions with the principalship;
(11) feelings about their work within the school;
(12) regrets about the career;
(13) advice to prospective women principals;
(14) career goals and aspirations.

Interviews lasted approximately one to one and a half hours and were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Questions were not distributed to the respondents ahead of time in order to prevent them from preparing answers that they felt would be socially acceptable. Respondents were asked to clarify and elaborate where necessary. They were encouraged to give specific examples especially where their answers were minimal.

Data Analysis

Miles & Huberman (1984) state that "form follows function. Formats must always be driven by the research question(s) involved, and their associated codes" (p. 80). Analysis of the data collected from the sixteen principal interviews was done with this in mind. In referring to the building of causal networks, Miles and Huberman affirm that "induction and deduction are dialectical, rather than mutually exclusive research procedures" (1984, p. 134). The analysis of data, having begun in a deductive manner with the establishment of some beginning codes based on the questions, was ultimately completed inductively as analysis responded to the data. The results are reported in the emergent categories. Only those categories most clearly yielding contrasts are reported here.

RESULTS

Results are reported in a variety of categories: developmental experiences; career development; administrative beliefs and practices; and assessing the experience. In each case the data are presented by contrasting recent appointees with former appointees. General statements are often illustrated by quotations, selected to be representative of one group or the other.

SECTION A: DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCES

Within the four subdivisions of (1) Academic History, (2) Academic Orientation, (3) Developmental Experiences, and (4) Professional Orientation there are several apparently significant contrasts. The experiences of recent appointees will be described first in each subdivision.

1. Academic History

All of the recent appointees, nine principals in total, have completed Bachelor's degrees. Four completed their Bachelor's programs through four years of full-time study before beginning teaching. The rest completed two to three years of schooling and then finished their degrees (up to fourth or fifth years) while teaching, most of them through part-time study. Additionally, four have completed Master's degrees; four are currently enrolled.

All but one of the former appointees have completed their Bachelor's degrees. However, only one of these eight completed the degree through four years of full-time study before beginning teaching. Six of the respondents spent two years, and one three years, in post-secondary training before beginning teaching. Once having begun to teach, two of the principals completed their degrees by taking time off (one and two years, respectively). The rest also completed their Bachelor's degrees while teaching, but part-time through evening and summer courses. Five have completed Master's degrees. One of these five women, Judith Cuthbert, has two Master's degrees and another, Frances Kent, is currently working on a second.

The recent group as a whole has slightly more formal training than the former appointees. Many of these women, with their sixth or speciality years, and a Master's or double Master's, appear to be extremely well qualified for their jobs. It is likely that recent male appointees are also as qualified given current district expectations. However, several former appointees also fit within this extra-qualified category, suggesting strongly that these women did have to be very well-qualified in order to obtain their positions as administrators (Adkison, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1987; Yeakey, Johnston & Adkison, 1986). Certainly Frances Kent supports this idea when she discusses women in her district whose resumes clearly outshone those of the men, who, relying on the old boys' network and waiting for "their turn," did not as often complete their Master's degree before applying for a principalship.

2. Academic Orientation

Almost all of the recent appointees report being competent, willing students. They were also deeply involved in school and remember it being a fun and happy time. All of the former appointees also report favourably on their years as students. They, too, were good students for whom school was easy. Unlike their more recently appointed colleagues, however, they do not

mention extra-curricular activities and broad involvement with the school community outside of academics.

It may be significant that only five of these seventeen women completed their Bachelor's degrees through full-time study. In many cases part-time study took place while these women were working full-time or part-time with young children at home. In addition, in all cases except three the Master's degrees were also completed through part-time study, most often, once again, while working full or part-time with children at home. Like the principals in Edson's (1988) study, these women were determined to further their education, and exhibit much tenaciousness in doing so.

3. General Developmental Experiences

Within this category there is no major distinction between the two groups of respondents, nor are there any outstanding developmental experiences common to either of the groups. Four of the respondents from each group mention good teachers or bad teachers having had an effect on them. Three of the candidates mention having been younger than most of their peers, from having begun school earlier here or elsewhere or being accelerated.

4. Professional Orientation

Only a few of the recent appointees report always having known, or decided early on, that they would be teachers. Several mention never having thought about being a teacher at all when they were young. They maintain that helping others learn and enjoying and loving children motivated them more often to choose teaching.

All of the former appointees except one report that they either always knew they would be a teacher or knew at least from elementary or high school. Almost all of them (six) report that there were not many choices available: teaching, nursing, dietician or secretary. Among these four choices, most respondents mention only teaching or nursing. Several of these women mention having thought about other careers, but that in addition to the limitations placed on them by their gender, they and their families could not finance a long degree. "If the truth was known", confides Judith Cuthbert, "I probably always wanted to be a doctor. And at that time there wasn't the encouragement or the money to do that".

These former appointees also discuss having enjoyed school and studying, and liking the school community. Anne Laurence explains how the lifestyle of female teachers, as compared to that of her mother, appealed to her: "I do remember watching and looking at some of the female teachers and thinking how much better life they had than my mother. It just seemed to me like they had a lot more freedom. They travelled. They laughed. I think I decided pretty young in life that I liked the look of that".

All these women chose their careers freely and are happy. For both groups, however, the security of teaching was also important. The idea of free as opposed to more constrained choice is also reflected in other reasons that both of these groups give for becoming teachers. Recent appointees seem to have focussed on becoming teachers because they wanted to teach and help children. Former appointees, on the other hand, appear to have identified teaching as the only option or the most appealing of the limited choices available to them: women not wanting to nurse, teachers by default.

SECTION B: CAREER DEVELOPMENT

In this section, findings are presented on career growth and development for each principal up to and including her appointment to the principalship. There are five separate subsections: (1) Teaching Experience and Growth, (2) Career Management, (3) Administrative Orientation, (4) Appointment, (5) Mentorship and Networking.

1. Teaching Experience and Growth

Most of the recent appointees have a fairly broad range of teaching experiences. Four of them were appointed to the principalship after approximately twelve professional years, (excluding time out to study or care for children). The rest were appointed to the principalship after fifteen to twenty-two years. The youngest became a principal at thirty-four years old. Most were older.

In speaking of their careers all recent appointees reflect a personal focus on learning. They report learning in all situations, they learn from other teachers, and they learn from principals. These principals also learned through the variety of positions they held. Peggy Marshall speaks of her experience working as an outdoor education teacher as, "a tremendous growth experience and I think not only did I learn a lot about the art of teaching, I learned lots about people because it was a residential school. We got a different staff in each week...I learned a lot about curriculum and kids".

These women also sought out new experience. They asked for new or repeat assignments; they requested transfers; they chose assignments. They looked for new challenges in new positions. Doriana Kean says that when applying for a head teachership, "what I was looking for was another challenge", a motivation expressed by most of the principals in this group. These principals also valued their university work and chose professional development work carefully as another means of learning more.

Most of the former appointees also have a fairly broad range of teaching experience. Only one woman in this group, Jeanne Chalmers, became a principal before at least twelve years in her career. All of the former appointees have been in education for at least twenty-five years,

the longest forty-one. Former appointees also generally reflect a focus on learning. But the "seeking out" theme is not apparent. They rarely mention asking for new assignments, choosing their assignments or looking for new challenges in new positions.

Former appointees are as interested in learning and growth as recent appointees. However, their response to this interest is, on the whole, much more passive than the recent appointees. Sex-role stereotyping appears to be important here. Former appointees were not as openly competitive and aggressive about looking for and obtaining what they wanted. Most of the recent appointees, however, seem to have been much less influenced by stereotypical constraints on the career behaviour of women.

Perhaps as a consequence, recent appointees have come to the principalship with far more non-school-based, adult-oriented, supervisory experience than the former appointees. The specialization roles of these women, either at the school level as learning assistance teacher or at the district office as helping or resource teacher, are not surprising as women have traditionally and still hold these specialty staff positions (Ortiz, 1982).

Recent appointees do not appear to be coming to the principalship any younger than their former counterparts. If women have traditionally become principals later than men have (Ortiz, 1982; Prolman, 1982), true for the former appointee group here, then recent appointees are becoming principals even later. Because of time out with children some of these women may not have as many years in total teaching time as their counterparts without children, but their careers are long.

2. Career Management

Almost all of the recent appointees report becoming known in their districts because of their teaching, and their activities and leadership at the school and district level. As Shirley Miller explains, "I found that I was in positions where I was offering leadership in a group. I found that I was an organizer. And as a result, in a district this size, people came to know me and started depending on me". She continues: "One of the things that is really important is the selling of people and there were a lot of people along the way who sold me, who let people higher up know about the things I had done, mentioned me. When I was appointed the director said that he had been a Shirley Miller fan for years. I didn't even know he knew I existed. But it's because people talk". These women were clearly noticed, but, importantly, their attention-getting was, overall, active and deliberate. Joanne Kenwood encapsulates this vividly: "I personally was hired because I covered every base that I had to to become a principal. And I have to tell you that I did that as a strategy".

About half of the former appointees mention having being offered positions or being asked to apply for certain jobs. Margaret Gamble recounts the story of how she was first led into her

head teachership: "One day I was phoned by the director of schools...he just sort of asked if I would be interested in being a head teacher...and quite frankly I laughed and thought it was a huge joke. And he asked me to consider it and call him back the next day". Once in this head teachership she was asked to apply for the principalship soon to be posted for that same school: "The supervising principal dropped in and so he said, 'Well, you're going to apply?' 'Oh, I don't think so'. I didn't really want to be a principal. And he sort of looked at me and said, 'Well, you've been doing the job now for several years. Why don't you get the name as well as the game?' So I did apply".

The attention-getting, or GASing (getting the attention of superiors; cited in Wolcott, 1973; Ortiz, 1982; and Ortiz & Marshall, 1988), of the recent appointees was much more active than that of the former appointees. Recent appointees may not have had ulterior motives originally, although some clearly did, but they definitely contemplated the activities they were to become involved in and chose this involvement carefully and deliberately. The former group have been fairly passive, and reluctant to be seen as ambitious.

Recent and former designations do not distinguish these women in terms of children and childcare. Of the women who have children (12) only four appear to have taken off any substantial amount of time when their children were young. These women do fit the pattern in breaking their careers to bear and raise children, an orientation that is described as in and out (Biklen, 1986). However, as an entire group these are not average women. They are very strongly career-oriented and have, on the whole, not spent a great deal of time at home with their children. Many of them state that their family is their first priority and that school and career come second. However, their actions do not represent traditional definitions of the priority of mothering and childcaring. The careers of these women principals with children do not differ significantly from those of the women without. Children are often thought to seriously and permanently delay and/or limit a woman's chances for career advancement; this phenomenon is not reflected here.

3. Administrative Orientation

For about half of the recent appointees administration was not originally a career goal. However, much more strongly than the former appointees they reflect a need for another challenge; they were bored doing the same thing and they needed a change. What is not apparent within the ranks of the recent appointees is any doubt about whether they could do the job. But there is a sense of determining ahead of time what they wanted to do. Many wanted to become principals because of what they thought they could do as principals: "the principal as an agent of change," "the best way to implement my philosophy," "had ideas about what I wanted to do.".

Most of the former appointees report that administration was not originally a career goal. They were asked to apply for their first administrative jobs. They were encouraged by others--husband, principals, district office personnel, colleagues--to apply for administrative postings. Ellen Davies had the support of both her principal and her husband. Of her principal Ellen recounts, "he brought the posting to me one day in early June and waved it under my nose and said, 'Here's a posting you might be interested in'. And I just laughed and said, 'Well, that's very flattering of you to say that, but, you know, I'm not trained to be a principal'. And he said, 'Well, you certainly have the skills. I think you should apply'". Her husband supported her principal: "Well, why don't you, then? You could do it".

These former appointees saw opportunities available. As they proceeded along in their careers about half of these women found themselves bored, needing something different, a change, another challenge. "I guess I knew I would be bored staying in the classroom because I knew I could do more", states Elizabeth Hammond. In the end, says Margaret Gamble, 'I think it was the challenge".

Most of the former appointees had never seen any women principals, or had seen them systematically removed from the principalship (Shakeshaft, 1987). They therefore could not imagine the job being done by women. Ortiz (1982) notes that women have often been censured for revealing administrative aspirations and discouraged. Former appointees may have felt pressure to be self-deprecating and been reluctant to be seen as ambitious for these reasons, thus laughing at the suggestion that they become principals and rarely seeking out new positions openly and independently.

The recent appointees, on the other hand, have focussed on administration much more deliberately. Although for about half, administration was not an early career goal either, the decision to try came gradually as they taught. Very frequently these women found themselves bored. But they did not compare themselves to the men; they knew they were capable and their choice was independent. Encouragement and prodding by others was not necessary. Unlike the former appointees, recent appointees do not indicate that their husbands played any significant role in determining the direction of their careers. The decision to aspire to administration was not associated with or contingent upon someone else's suggestion.

The expectation that one will become a principal and the sure knowledge that one is capable are crucial, as these recent appointees histories demonstrate, in developing an orientation to administration. They also began to come to the principalship with a clear idea about what they hoped to accomplish which is not apparent among former appointees. These two elements, developing what Mary Asher terms the "assumption that one is administrative material", an orientation to administration based on prior expectation, and knowledge and

confidence in one's abilities, and then developing a vision are, from the data provided by these women, both linked and new for women aspirants.

Most of the recent appointees and many of the former appointees mention boredom in the classroom as a factor in their administrative aspirations. Several women note the lack of opportunities for leadership in school (Biklen, 1986). These women needed more challenges yet many others, perceiving teaching as a career (McLaughlin & Yee, 1988), do not. Women who are bored in the classroom and seek successive challenges may be a special strain of teacher who, by default almost, become principals because there is nothing else to do.

4. Appointment

Recent appointees mention the role of affirmative action in their hiring. Speaking of her district, Shirley Miller says: "They are very aware of the lack of women in administration and they have over the past few years appointed more and more women to administration". There is uneasiness about hiring in this way. Julie Clarke speaks forthrightly: "In our school district this last year I believe there were seven administrative positions and six of them went to women because the district felt that the time was right for women to get these positions and I don't like that at all. I think that opportunities should be available for women and that whoever's best should get the job, not that the time is right and we'll have six women administrators this year and six men next year. I think that that's a real insult".

Only two former appointees mention affirmative action as having any bearing on their appointment to the principalship, and not affirmative action as such, but the fact that it was a good time as women were beginning to obtain principalships. Frances Kent speaks quite positively about her district's hiring practices: "I think that the applications were considered by merit and they sort of went over backwards to be fair to the men when women started to produce better resumes than the men did".

Although the hiring of women and affirmative action may, as its initial purpose, raise awareness regarding the imbalance of number (based on race, gender or other distinctions) it rapidly becomes insulting to those for whom it has been established. Former appointees recognize the fact that women were usually not hired as administrators at the time when they became principals. Often, as in Anne Laurence's case, this intensified their resolve to become principals. Yet they do not perceive themselves as having been subject to discrimination personally because they all, in fact, were ultimately appointed as principals.

5. Mentorship and Networking

Over half of the recent appointees mention mentorship, that is, strong supportive action, guidance, and active help in developing leadership skills and solidifying philosophy. This

mentorship was usually provided by principals, all male. Shirley Miller describes her mentor at length: "The principal that I called my mentor was strongly supportive in terms of being very vocal about me in the district, really selling me. . . . Suggesting that I take on certain tasks. So he was very active in guiding me".

Three principals in the former group mention mentorship. For Judith Cuthbert the mentor was a former principal, but the mentorship she describes came after she became a principal. "Bob kept me realistic", states Judith, "he would phone me up and say you are a way off base. He was trying to be a friend and helpful". For Mary Asher and Anne Laurence mentorship was provided by other women.

Mentorship was not freely and openly provided to most former appointees and if they sought it they could not obtain it (Ortiz, 1982). Recent appointees do not, either, refer to having sought mentorship. However, it was provided to them by their male principals; this represents a change in intergender social relations and a significant contrast with the experience of the former appointees.

Mentorship appears to have been and to be important and helpful to women seeking to become principals (Edson, 1988; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988) as demonstrated by the number of recent appointees citing it.

Of all the recent appointees only one, Joanne Kenwood, mentions networking as a principal, having some women friends who are also principals, and developing a natural network through her seven years of work at the district office. Yet former appointees networked extensively as principals, with other women principals, at the district office. Speaking of the increasing numbers of women principals in her district Judith Cuthbert says: "The support group within our administrative group is now much wider--there are ten or eleven women in the group now--and a range of people who have been administrators for a fair length of time".

Only one former appointee mentions support from colleagues while a teacher. Yet almost all of the recent appointees mention supportive colleagues. That so many recent appointees cite so much support from colleagues and the former appointees do not is puzzling. Former appointees who were inexplicit even to themselves about career goals may not have received support for this reason; additionally they were beginning to tread unfamiliar paths for women which were less socially acceptable (Adkison, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1987).

Interestingly, only two women from the entire group of seventeen respondents address the issue of women supporting and assisting women. Both former appointees, one feels that women are very supportive of each other and the other that women are very distrustful of one another.

Once having become principals support systems changed for both groups of appointees. Former appointees, first, accessed the support of other women principals. Like Edson's (1988)

principals, these women speak gratefully of the support they received from others in their situation. Often they met formally in a group when numbers were small; these meetings ceased when more women were hired in their districts. In this case networking was clearly a function of numbers, evidence of the effects of tokenism (Adkison, 1981; Kanter, 1977; Ortiz, 1982). Recent appointees from this sample do not network specifically with other women; because of the greater numbers of women principals they do not have to make the special effort to develop support that former appointees did. A cadre of women is available and present whenever principals meet.

The recent appointees do not mention networking at all. Since they do not mention exclusion from the old boys' network, one might assume that entry into this group is open to them. Mutual support among all principals, male and female, may be occurring. On the other hand, the old boys' network may still be exclusionary, with recent appointees simply not acknowledging this exclusion. A third scenario is also possible: recent women appointees may be choosing to chart their own course alone, establishing different priorities and styles as principals. This will be explored further later.

If former appointees received little support from their principals and little from other women teachers, they received much from other women appointees, and from their husbands and friends. If recent women appointees received less personal support from other women appointees, they received more from their principals and women colleagues. Support, from whatever source, has been extremely important for all these women.

SECTION C - ADMINISTRATIVE STYLE

The findings reported here all relate to the individual's style and sense of herself as a principal. They are categorized under three headings: (1) Time Management and Use, (2) Priorities, and (3) Administrative Style. Again, contrasts are emphasized.

1. Time Management and Use

Recent appointees use a variety of common strategies for managing their time: blocking time, scheduling, timetabling, making notes, making lists, calendars, and keeping appointment books. Apart from these, the most important time management strategy for these new principals is prioritizing. From there these principals do what they can, playing it by ear, managing by walking around, looking after crises. "Every day is quite different", says Marie Jansen, "I never really know what I'm going to do when I come to school. I can walk in the door and literally the whole day is totally different from what I had planned, just because of things happening". There is a commitment to get as much done during the day, before leaving work, as possible.

"The work day is for work", says Peggy Marshall. "Barring emergencies we keep our home life out of it".

Former appointees use similar strategies, but theirs seem one step more sophisticated and stringent. Among these women there is a sense of a heavier load, that it has become harder and harder to manage time. When asked how she manages time Frances Kent replies: "With difficulty. I don't know. I seem to just go on". In response to this same question Mary Asher says: "I don't! It's just incredible, the overload".

Recent appointees spend much time teaching, and with children, supervising on the playground, greeting kids, taking part in and supervising activities. "I do supervision at lunchtime. I also do duty at recess time", says Doriana Kean. These principals spend much time in contact with their staff, and with both children and teachers in the classroom.

Former appointees as a whole do not spend as much time teaching because with more seniority they work in larger schools. They, too, have contact with their staff, but not to the same degree as recent appointees. There seems to be less contact with children for former appointees overall, but they do appear to be in the classrooms more often casually than recent appointees.

As far as time use is concerned, experience and administrative assignment complexity appear to be the crucial variables that account for differences between these two groups of women principals. All are struggling with the workload.

2. Priorities

All recent appointees speak of locally devised school goal development priorities. The New Primary Program (ungradedness, subject integration), figures largely in the school goal development plans of these principals as do integration of special-needs students and cooperative learning. These respondents also mention a myriad of other academic and curriculum-related goals for children (writing process, academic enhancement, computers, fine arts, gifted, special needs, thinking skills, problem-solving), as well as goals related to teachers (collegial teacher supervision, peer coaching, the team, openness, sharing among teachers). Several principals also mention affective goals with respect to children.

The main priority of recent appointees is children. "I guess I do have an overall vision, if you like", states Patricia Munroe, "I mean, things that directly affect the students--that is my most important priority". However, only a few of these principals mention interacting with children and actually being with children, either casually or in the classroom, as a priority. For these recent appointees the affective domain and climate building are also very important; they speak of developing a sense of caring for one another, building a warm, caring atmosphere, a

comfortable place for kids. Recent appointees also speak of acting as instructional leaders and being visible for staff. They want to challenge and satisfy their staffs.

Some former appointees speak in terms of school development priorities, and list specific school goals which reflect much the same concerns as the recent appointees. Former appointees do not, for the most part, mention other academic and curriculum-related goals, but talk about school goals related to teachers such as the team, openness, sharing among teachers, and good communication.

Former appointees also report that kids are very important, but the focus on learning and academics with kids at the centre, however, is not expressed as strongly among former appointees. Only one principal from this group, Mary Asher, speaks of making a comfortable place for kids at school and developing a sense of caring for children. Former appointees mention developing positive ethos and the school as a comfortable place for teachers much more often than do the recent appointees.

Among the former appointee group there are two principals who do not show the clear sense of priorities that others do. These are the oldest of the entire group and they have taught and administered the longest. Both of these principals have always chosen to continue to teach; they measure their successes as teachers rather than principals. They are particularly important cases in showing changes over time in womens' perceptions of their work in education.

It is possible that the experience and age of these two women leads them not to speak as confidently or articulate their vision and priorities as clearly. These two women had neither the expectation that they would become principals nor the confidence that they could. Earlier, we suggested that prior expectation that one can and will become a principal, because of knowledge and confidence in one's skills and abilities, are crucial in developing an orientation to administration. The lack of expectation and confidence in these two women may explain the absence of a clear statement of priorities and overall vision.

These two older principals simply provide evidence of change over time. Corwin argued in 1970 that teaching and school administration were two separate careers. Developments in unionization since then in the U.S. and in B.C. have made this separation even more clear. The women who appear most comfortable, and satisfactorily although not overwhelmingly challenged in their roles, perceive themselves clearly to be principals, and demonstrate strong priorities and vision. The sense of oneself as a principal is perhaps developing in recent aspirants more quickly and strongly than formerly.

3. Administrative Style

Although aspects of individual principal's administrative styles have become apparent already, some specifics about how these women say they act as principals will be useful. A

number of recent appointees use the terms "administering through loitering" and "management by walking around". Recent appointees also mention a positive relationship with children as an aspect of their administrative style, and speak of their relationship with staff as being one of support, encouragement, facilitating, rather than directing. "My decision to go into administration was based more on working with teachers in workshop types of situations rather than as manager/employee kind of relationship", explains Shirley Miller, "I enjoy being able to facilitate a group of adults in a direction that we all want to go".

Most recent appointees also cite a variety of administrative cliches that are representative of their approach: people person, open door policy, being involved, helping, warm, humanistic, caring, emotional, intuitive, reflective. But this sense of the personal is much stronger among the recent appointees than among the former. "There's a lot of warmth, a lot of hugging", says Shirley Miller, "it's building that kind of a feeling, that kind of atmosphere in the school that I feel is really important to me".

Former appointees also speak of administering through loitering and management by walking around, and focus on a positive relationship with children. They too boast of a supportive, encouraging relationship with staff. But only two principals from this group speak of the caring, personal aspect of being a principal.

In describing their administrative styles, the focus of recent appointees on what might traditionally be called the feminine stands out: caring, emotional, reflective, intuitive, helping, being involved. Former appointees would not describe their administrative styles in terms of the feminine. From the recent appointees one most clearly senses the charting of a new role within the principalship, the developing of new ways of doing things which many describe in typically feminine terms. These are not authoritarian, aloof, unemotional, objective, uninvolved principals, guided by male roles and models. They are developing their own models.

SECTION D - ASSESSING THE EXPERIENCE

In this last section of findings are presented the respondents' reflections on their careers. This section is divided into a number of subsections which include: (1) Significance of Gender, (2) Impacts, (3) Problems, (4) Satisfactions, (5) Personal Satisfaction, (6) Regrets, (7) Advice, and, last, (8) Career Goals.

1. Significance of Gender

Recent appointees do not report on the effects of tokenism, exclusion, discrimination, or harassment and criticism from men. Each is among an increasing number of women administrators in their school districts. Neither do they speak of limited options and only one mentions another preferred career. They made their career choices freely. They do, however,

discuss many ways in which their careers might have been different had they been men. These women would have sought more demanding positions, become more goal-directed, and started career-building earlier. Patricia Munroe says, "I suppose if I were a man, I probably would have strived to go into administration, with a long-range view to a career. I can't honestly say I planned out what my career was going to be".

For these women sex-role stereotyping persists. Shirley Miller relates a typical story: "In dealing with parents, especially early in my career it was very difficult for some of them to believe that a female would have any position of authority. . . . And even this year people come and say 'I'd like to see the principal' and are sort of taken aback that it's a woman". These recent appointees do not report a double standard with regard to their conduct and behaviour consistently, as do the former appointees, but: "I think people expect us to be pushovers or a bitch", says Peggy Marshall.

Recent appointees still have to prove themselves and still have to work harder than the men. Speaking of the reaction of the public to the fact that she's the principal, Marie Jansen says, "So I almost have to prove myself because I feel like they're saying, 'What are they doing these days? You're the principal?' So I have to work harder at showing them, yes, I am the principal. And I deserve to be. And you can't just say that in words. I have to show them that by what I'm doing in the school".

Almost all recent appointees cite the effects of affirmative action. "I think in some ways it helped to be a woman", states Shirley Miller, "It's very seldom that I've found that being a woman has worked against me". But several cite resistance to affirmative action. Peggy Marshall applied for a principalship several times in her former district. One of her friends suggested to her that, "it's because I'm a woman that I did not get anything, because we're in the backlash".

These women speak of the special skills and characteristics of women as principals. More understanding, empathy, intuition, emotion, nurturing, cooperation and human relations are words they use to describe women in the principalship. Recent appointees perceive women to have a teaching skill and knowledge level that men don't have: women are curricular leaders, women work as team members. "Nine out of ten or eight out of ten (master teachers) are women", affirms Doriana Kean. "I think, and I don't know whether I have the right to say this", states Peggy Marshall, "I think the new women administrators are more democratic, are more willing to go to the staff and say, let's make this decision together".

This group of recent appointees focuses strongly on the issues of child-bearing and motherhood. Child-bearing and career interruption are issues that must be faced by women principals and administrative aspirants. "I know that when my references were checked, when I was shortlisted the first time", explains Peggy Marshall, "the principal was asked how can she

be a principal if she's got young children?" Like the former appointees, recent appointees with children are unequivocal about the difficulty of juggling kids, marriage, jobs and studies.

All former appointees report in some way and to some degree on the effects of tokenism, exclusion, discrimination, chauvinism and harassment from male colleagues. Once having surmounted the obstacles and become principals these women continue to report on the reactions of their male colleagues to their activities and leadership. Margaret Gamble describes the comments of other male administrators to the all-female networking group in her district: "It became recognized as 'The Women Are Meeting Tonight'," which she enunciates in the sepulchral tones of those who said it. Judith Cuthbert also discusses male reaction to her principaling: "When I was at (my first school) the school was sometimes referred to as the 'dollhouse' ".

Former appointees also report on an absence of career-building direction from men or "the assumption that one is administrative material". Margaret Gamble recounts an interesting story about her district: "When I was growing up there were many women principals. Following World War II the superintendent persuaded women principals to do other things. Over a period of about ten years every woman principal was eased out of her position into some other role in the district".

These women encountered much sex-role stereotyping. Margaret Gamble says, "I think back to my first appointment as head teacher and at the end of the year a gentleman sort of admitting to me that when he found out I was in charge he was appalled". She then says that, given the times, "it was sort of an accolade, as such, that he would share this". Most of the former appointees report on a double standard regarding their conduct They had to work harder both to get where they are and then to prove their competence and ability. When she was appointed, says Frances Kent, "most of the women who were applying for jobs at that time had their Master's programs. And very few of the men did. They were playing the old-boy network".

To complicate matters these women could not do and say things the men could. "I couldn't get away with some of the things some of the guys get away with, that I'd be really jumped on", explains Elizabeth Hammond. Personal traits and actions that would have been accepted quite calmly in men were criticized in them. As the only woman, or one of the first few in their districts, they were watched carefully. Elizabeth Hammond, the only woman principal in her district, says, "I think I have to do better because I always think people want me to fall on my face. They want it, to say, oh, it's just that woman. She's crazy. And so I have to make sure that message doesn't get out".

These women do not report affirmative action by their districts. Anne Laurence relates a telling story about her developing resolve to become a principal nonetheless: "When I went in to be interviewed (as a principal for the first time) I was waiting with a fellow and I could tell that he was surprised that I was there. He was next in. When the fellow that was in the room at that

time came out he looked at me and he said, 'Oh, you'll probably get this because you're a woman'. And, you know, I can remember thinking, 'You're damn right I'll get it'. It seemed like he made me so determined where I don't think I was that determined before".

Most of the former appointees encountered a variety of difficulties in their careers: they were excluded from the old boys' network, and suffered from being only one or one of a few among a large group of "others" (Kanter, 1977). From outside the profession as well, sex-role stereotyping was a constant factor. But the recent appointees are not experiencing as many of the difficulties that their older counterparts discuss. Both recent and former appointees see the sometime benefit of being a young woman principal nowadays.

In speaking of their gender women--especially recent appointees--highlight, as they did when referring to administrative style, the special characteristics they have as women principals. They create an image of a nurturing, empathic and knowledgeable principal. They constantly stress the notion that women can and do do things differently. Although former appointees speak iess of the feminine, they seem to have come to the same conclusions that the recent appointees have been aware of right from the start, that one does not have to be a man to be a good principal, that a good woman makes a good or even better principal. And so, guided by the groundbreaking and initial forays of the former appointees and forsaking male traditions and models, recent appointees appear to be carving out a new niche for women, and a new identity for the principalship.

2. Impacts

Recent appointees with children mention the difficulty of combining marriage, children, career and studies. "I have two children and that definitely has an impact on my career", states Patricia Munroe, "To juggle the kids and a marriage and the job and plus trying to do a Master's degree, sometimes it feels like a three-ring circus". Child-rearing, these women lament, is still mostly a mother's concern. Most of the women with children comment on great support (not simply encouragement) from their husbands: the sharing of parenting and household tasks, being on duty at home in the evenings.

All former appointees with children also report on the difficulty of juggling kids, husband and job, and often studies. Children had a great impact on the careers of these women; they had less time and more demands. Several former appointees also mention the encouragement of their husbands. Frances Kent says: "I have a husband and a family and my husband has always been very supportive, more than supportive, almost pushing, to say, 'Why not? There's no reason why you shouldn't' ".

By far the largest non-professional impact on these women's careers is their families. However, although they laugh and exclaim about how difficult it is, they do not seem particularly

overwhelmed by all that they are doing. Two former appointees do mention "not being able to do it all". Despite this, all of the women with children, particularly the recent appointees with younger children, do appear to be doing it all. Given the number of these women who did work when their children were small a surprisingly small number mention concern over childcare.

Their hearts are not at home--at least not between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. every day. To say this is not to deny these women's feelings for their children. It is their careers and lifestyles, rather than their feelings, that do not conform to the traditional view of motherhood. To the outside observer, these women, who make time stretch to fit their needs, are not run-of-the-mill. They stand out, they are exceptional.

3. Problems

Recent appointees as a group cite a large set of problems and frustrations. Julie Clarke cites, first, a general problem: "That you're everybody's complaint department. They (teachers) never come to you and say, thank you for giving me this wonderful child. It's always, what can we do about little Johnny?" Carole Burbank also mentions, "some parent complaints". Among teacher problems recent appointees frequently mention teacher contract and union. "The contract can be so definitive and limit teacher flexibility", states Carole Burbank.

The very nature of the principalship is, last, also a problem for these recent appointees. For these women the principalship is also complicated by the fact that it is so often reactive. "No matter how you plan," contends Doriana Kean, "you end up reacting to situations". Last, principals work by themselves, in isolation. Carole Burbank sums it all up: "It's a very lonely job. There is great weight in knowing that the buck stops here."

Former appointees also list a great variety of problems and frustrations. Mary Asher expands on the paperwork problem: "it's not that I'm getting worse at it, there's just more of it". Former appointees mention far less frequently than recent appointees the difficulty of dealing with teachers. Only one former appointee finds the job lonely; with only one exception, they are no longer bothered by the crisis demands, the constant interruptions and changing gears.

Where differences occur between the two groups with respect to problems and frustrations, they appear, for the most part, to be due to the differences in amount of experience, and to the administrative assignment.

4. Satisfactions

Recent appointees report that they are satisfied when kids are learning and experiencing success, showing academic growth. These principals also find great satisfaction in knowing that they are making a difference. Patricia Munroe finds this to be especially satisfying compared to her former district office job: "You really don't see a difference when you're at the board office.

But as a school administrator I can see that there is a direct reaction or significance of my actions on what happens in the school--the climate, the tone, the educational program".

Helping, encouraging and stretching people also pleases recent appointees. Shirley Miller reflects all of these: "To know that I'm helping people to develop themselves to their potential. To stretch individuals. Whether they be a kindergarten student or a parent or a staff member. To meet challenges that they have not perhaps thought of trying to reach. To teach them to continue to learn. To enable them".

Seeing kids learning and experiencing success is also gratifying for former appointees. They are pleased to see wonderful things happening in the classroom. Although in this area they experience as much satisfaction as recent appointees, these principals do not speak as strongly as do the recent appointees of making a difference and changing lives.

Like the recent appointees these experienced principals report very strongly on the satisfaction they feel from working with their staffs. Ellen Davies speaks for all when voices satisfaction with "the things that I found that I was able to do, putting together a staff, of building that it. That feeling of team building and it's really wonderful, delightful; the building of a school community. It's really gratifying".

Several former appointeesmention working with kids as great satisfactions. No recent appointees mention this. Frances Kent states simply: "the interpersonal relationships with the kids. That's the most satisfying thing." And Jeanne Chalmers speaks often of the satisfaction she feels from simply interacting with children casually.

For both new and experienced principals the most satisfying aspects of their jobs concern children and teachers. Satisfaction does not come from outside sources; satisfaction is school-based. Satisfaction comes from seeing pleasing and rewarding results before one's eyes, that is, student and teacher success, and not from paycheques, status, or superiors.

5. Personal Satisfaction

Most recent appointees state that they enjoy their jobs and look forward to coming to work each day. They find their jobs challenging and meaningful and never boring. "I really enjoy what I'm doing," marvels Shirley Miller, "I really do. I love being an elementary administrator. I feel good. I know I'm doing a good job." They feel fortunate to work with good people. Patricia Munroe declares: "I have an excellent staff. There really isn't a weak teacher on the staff. They care a lot about each other. They're an easy group to work with. They have just been really good about accepting me as a leader."

These women feel very lucky: they have enjoyed everything they have done, they feel rewarded and gratified. They are concerned about decreasing contact with children as they move further and further away from the classroom. Peggy Marshall extends her concern about

decreasing contact with children to the possibility of moving away from the principalship as well: "People tease and they say, 'So, assistant superintendent' and I think there's a desperate need for assistant superintendents to be women, but I'm not sure that's what I want. The frustration I feel in this job is the not immediate contact with children. While, heck, if I get out of the school site there will be even less".

Most former appointees also enjoy their jobs a great deal. Mary Asher says, "I like being an administrator. I'm never bored. I don't have time to be bored and I am grateful for that. I really like my job". When asked to discuss job satisfaction none of these former appointees express concern about decreased contact with children in the principalship.

Many recent appointees repeatedly mention how lucky they are. Only one former appointee, on the other hand, ever speaks of feeling lucky. It is ironic that the group of women who were much more deliberate and instrumental in developing their careers and gradually aiming for the principalship cite luck so often. Hard work, dedication and careful choices seem to have been much more important to their career success than luck.

On the other hand the group of women who more often found themselves in promising situations accidentally, without having used much deliberate control, do not mention luck. From the perspective of these women, however, getting to the principalship may not have been a matter of luck at all, but, rather, a course requiring much hard work and perseverance given the difficulties and obstacles before them. And perhaps, when comparing themselves to former appointees, new women principals feel particularly lucky as women to have achieved what they have more easily. Alternately, this may be false modesty, ascribing their successes to luck rather than to themselves.

6. Regrets

Recent appointees have virtually no regrets. They are extremely happy with their careers and choices. Two of these principals wish they had started on their Master's degrees earlier. Carole Burbank says of going to university while working: "It might have been nice to do university work without having to work full-time." She does say, however, that she never really regretted it while working.

Former appointees, perhaps because they have had a great number of years in their careers, especially as principals, have accumulated more regrets. However, they are happy with their careers. Ellen Davies wishes that she had had the option to work part-time when her children were small. "I would have to go way back to when I was teaching with tiny children and I would have liked to have the opportunity to do part-time teaching as people can do now. It wasn't an option when my kids were little". But another former appointee, Margaret Gamble, would have gone back into full-time teaching earlier.

Several former appointees regret not having had the chance for a different career. They regret the lack of options available to them. 'Occasionally I regret not going into medicine," states Judith Cuthbert, but she finishes by saying, "I would probably do it all over again and I don't know that I would do it a lot differently. No, I don't think so".

7. Advice

Both former and recent appointees give much advice freely. There are, however, no major themes that stand out across the two groups or even, with any strength, within either one respectively. Recent appointees advise that prospective principals have credibility as teachers. In addition, these women caution others who follow to be aware of expectations from all quarters. Several recent appointees also mention looking carefully at what the principalship is and sorting out one's beliefs, developing one's own vision, determining one's own strengths and preferences before undertaking administration.

Only one respondent from all the principals, both recent and former, recommends that if women have a family they be aware of the necessity to manage home and household responsibilities carefully. "It is very hard for women if you have a family," maintains Julie Clarke, "and you'd better be prepared to realize that and have things in place . . . even to having a housekeeper, (so) that you can go on to other things".

Former appointees do not mention a great deal that concerns traditional feminine attributes. Advice in this area, unlike that given by recent appointees, is noticeably absent. However, former appointees, unlike recent appointees, have much more general advice to give about people and human relations skills.

Former appointees advise women to be prepared to do anything the job entails including dealing with male colleagues on an intellectual level. These principals advise women not to try and compete with men, and not to feel they're less able as women, that they do have a lot to offer. They encourage women to work differently, to do what women do, and to eschew traditional male models. "I think that the most important thing is to be yourself and don't be afraid to be a woman," says Frances Kent. "You don't have to outman the men. You don't have to be hard and tough and so on. You can still be feminine". Mary Asher advises female candidates to, "look at what we are as women and bring it to the job rather than try to compete with men. Don't go for the traditional male model. You don't have to do it that way".

Former appointees, last, encourage capable women to consider the principalship and to go for it if they want it. "Don't be ashamed of ambition," insists Anne Laurence, "because I think some women are . . . there's nothing wrong with it".

Recent appointees give much advice concerning traditional feminine attributes. Be caring, be personal, be supportive, be compassionate. In this way, they continue the theme of developing a new role in the principalship, one that is not typically and automatically masculine.

Both groups of women have much advice to give prospective principals: in total these seventeen principals gave sixty-two separate pieces of advice, overall a kind of guide to success for administrative aspirants. Significantly, with such a plethora of advice, both groups touch on the issue of being a woman, on what becomes a linking theme, 'be a woman'. While recent appointees do not refer to men and do not compare women to men, former appointees discuss women within the framework of men and male experience. They do not concentrate on a variety of feminine attributes. They advise women not to try and compete with men, not to use their sex as an excuse, to be prepared to deal intellectually with men all the time. They exhort prospective women principals not to be afraid to be a woman and to leave male models behind. Both recent and former appointees contribute to the impression of a new and developing role for women in the principalship.

8. Career Goals

All recent appointees are, not surprisingly, interested in expanding on their experience as principals. Most wish to remain a principal for a while, going to a different school, a larger school, a K-7 school, one school instead of two. Peggy Marshall states unequivocally that, "I need to have a bigger school. I need to see if I can run a bigger school too. For me to now move into a different role (other than principal) without gathering some new experiences would be foolish". About half of the recent appointees are then interested in pursuing their administrative careers to the district level as directors in curriculum development, professional development, staff development, special education. "I'm very interested in staff development," relates Julie Clarke, "and I'm looking all over for a director of staff development, some position like that. I see the principalship as a stepping stone to where I want to get to be".

Half of these recent women appointees aspire to the superintendency. "I'd have to be honest," says Patricia Munroe, "and say that at some point in time I may have a view to looking at senior management in a district, but it wouldn't be a large district and I'm not in any hurry to pursue that". Not one of these repondents independently mentions becoming superintendent. When asked directly if she would be interested in becoming superintendent Marie Jansen confides, "I was going to say (superintendent), but I thought, no, assistant superintendent". Several recent appointees mention the possiblity of completing a PhD in the future. And several mention the possibility of going back into the classroom at some time, although they do not seem especially convinced about really wanting to do so.

Over half of the former appointees plan to remain a principal with possibly one last principalship at a different school. Several of these principals mention directorships or district principalships and hope to move on in this direction from their schools. Three former appoinees mention specifically not having had a desire to be a superintendent and one reveals that she had thought about it early in her career but had given up on it a long time back because of family responsibilities.

It is interesting that no former appointees mention an interest in the superintendency even though some are still of an age to aspire to that position. In addition to the desire they express to remain with children at the school level, prior expectation and sex-role socialization may also be important here. These women did not aspire to the principalship until well into their careers, having seen only very few women principals. And although career-oriented, aspiring to the superintendency might, in their eyes, have been ludicrous, and certainly beyond reach.

The higher aspirations of the recent appointees are understandable within the context of their professional, social and cultural experience and realistic given their prior expectation and career orientation. Although recent appointees concede that having a family certainly impacts upon one's careers, they rarely express this impact in terms of personal burden and professional impediment.

Of note here also is the fact that a number of the recent appointees mention possibly returning to the classroom, particularly if they are not happy in the principalship or satisfied with results after several years. At this point although as principals they have already shed their teacher personae, they have not yet psychologically made the separation from the classroom.

SUMMARY

Although the experiences of individual women within these groups vary, it is possible to develop composite sketches of the typical former appointee and of the typical recent appointee which will allow the contrasts between the groups to emerge, sharply defined.

The former appointee had a happy, uneventful childhood. She enjoyed school and performed well. She always knew she would be a teacher because, for the most part, there were few choices open to her as a woman. She began teaching young, with no expectation of becoming a principal. Along the way she married and had several children, staying at home full-time for a year or two when they were born, returning to work part-time quickly and then full-time by the time her children were four or five years old.

As a teacher she did not seek new assignments independently, but took advantage of opportunities that were made available to her, growing in experience situationally. She received unsought attention as a by-product of good teaching. She was asked to apply for her first administrative position and encouraged to move in that direction. She thought she could do the job as well as other principals she had seen, was intrigued by the new challenge and so became a principal after more than fifteen years as a teacher. She was appointed, she believes, because she was and is a good teacher. She was the best candidate, hired not because of affirmative action, but at a time when women were just beginning to join administrative ranks in greater numbers. Part of her motivation included boredom with the classroom role.

Along the way to becoming a principal she found her principals encouraging rather than supportive. She received no pre-administrative mentoring and no collegial support. She networked extensively with the other women principals in her district. While a principal, she completed a Master's degree in Education, part-time while working. She began as a principal in a small school and is now in her third school, a large and complex assignment with a vice-principal.

As a principal the number one priority of the former appointee is children. Another major priority is staff, that is, working through teachers to best teach and accommodate children, and ethos building. Because of the demands of her complex assignment, she has less contact time with children and spends less time informally with them than newer principals in smaller schools.

As a woman the former appointee suffered many negative consequences during her career. She received little career-building direction and support, and was excluded from the old-boys' network. She had to contend with the negative reactions of male colleagues to her work and harassment from them as well as sex-role stereotyping from others. She had to work harder to become a principal and had to prove herself once there. She was watched carefully by others, and felt a responsibility to do well for the sake of those women coming up behind her. She realized that she would have to always do her very best and compete with the men on an intellectual level. Along the way, she began to perceive that women often do things differently, that they don't always respond and act in the same way as men. She decided not to compete with men, but rather to be a principal in her own individual non-male way.

The former appointee enjoys her job a great deal and especially likes working with good teachers. She feels rewarded and gratified, and has no regrets about her career. She often found the demands of family, husband, career and studies difficult and pressing, but not daunting. She responded to and enjoyed the challenge, and accepted the encouragement of her husband. Before her retirement she expects to be principal at one more school or perhaps a director at the

district office. The thought of total loss of contact with children as well as family responsibilities prevented her from seriously considering the superintendency.

The average recent appointee also had a happy, uneventful childhood. She too liked school and performed well. She made the decision to become a teacher freely, not because of limited options. She liked working with children and wanted to teach others. Firmly anchored within a middle class background, the recent appointee completed high school and then proceeded into university, spending three years there before beginning teaching. She was also fairly young as a new teacher. Although she did not begin teaching having decided to become an administrator, the idea occurred to her, and grew, while she taught.

While teaching she gained a broad base of experience. She sought variety in her teaching, doing so at a number of levels. She completed her Bachelor's degree along the way. As a teacher and administrator she has always had a focus on learning. She learned much, in each position that she held and constantly sought new experience and new assignments, transferring to different schools as well for new opportunities. She became known in her district for her teaching and also for school and district leadership. She took on extra responsibilities for more challenge, conducting workshops and becoming high profile in the district for that expertise as well. She received much attention, but was instrumental and directive in the activity that gained her that recognition. Unlike the former appointee, she deliberately managed her career to enhance promotability. She was bored in the classroom and need a another new challenge. She knew she could be a good principal and knew what she needed to do to get there. Anticipating district requirements she has begun a Master's degree in Education. She took the initiative to apply for an administrative posting on her own. Along the way she also married and had several children, taking a maternity leave or one year off after the birth of each child and then returning to full-time work immediately.

The recent appointee became a principal after approximately fifteen years as a teacher. She was appointed, she believes, because of her good track record as a teacher, because she was well-qualified with a specialty area, and high profile in the district and also because of affirmative action. Along the way the recent appointee received much quiet support from her principals. She was also mentored by the male principal with whom she worked as a vice-principal. His support, which was provided and not sought, was active and guiding. She also found her teaching colleagues to be helpful and supportive. She did not and does not network with other women specifically or in any significant way with men either.

As a principal her number one priority is children learning. Developing the school as a warm, comfortable, safe place for children--building climate--is also important. And working with teachers, facilitating and acting as an instructional leader, is also at the top of her list of priorities.

As an administrator, she and her staff have developed a number of locally-developed goals, academic and curriculum-related, for the school. She is not the boss, but works with her staff, in a supportive way. She accentuates characteristics of administration that are traditionally seen as feminine: warm, helpful, caring.

Because the recent appointee is now among a number of women administrators in her district she does not suffer the effects of tokenism. Negative reaction and harassment from male principals are not apparent, but sex-role stereotyping from others continues as does the double standard and behavioural stereotyping for women principals. She believes, however, that women principals have special skills--in teaching and knowledge--as principals. The feminine characteristics which she highlights in a positive way and uses to advantage in her everyday work--understanding, empathy, nurturing--are a hallmark of the administrative style of women, she believes.

The recent appointee is especially satisfied as a principal with student success and making a difference in student's lives. She is also satisfied seeing her staff grow and experience success and overall likes to help and stretch individuals. She loves her job and is happy to work with good teachers. She feels very lucky, and has no regrets about her career. She has also found the demands of family, husband, career and studies sometimes difficult and pressing, but she thrives on the activity and challenge and sees her myriad responsibilities as matter-of-fact rather than daunting. She is thankful for the support of her husband who is attempting to shoulder the burden of childcare and household responsibility with her.

She wants to gain more experience as a principal, then plans for a position at the district office, either a directorship or the superintendency. She advises administrative aspirants to gain credibility as a teacher and to sort out their beliefs and philosphy and develop a vision of what they wish to accomplish before they become principals. They should use their unique characteristics as women to best advantage in a positive way to do what women do, to be good women principals.

The differences here between the careers of recent women appointees and former women appointees to the principalship demonstrate that there have been significant changes within the last few years in the context and work of women school principals in elementary schools. Although the recent women principals of this group may still have to prove themselves to outsiders and still do face sex-role stereotyping from society as well, they are at least accepted and supported now by their male peers, unlike former appointees. New women principals also demonstrate greater career initiative than their former counterparts and are more active in their planning and pursuit of career goals; they show much less false modesty about their attainments and prospects. Consequently, they also have a greater range of experience in both

teaching and administrative areas and, aspiring to district management as they all do, their upward career orientation is greater than that of former appointees.

The differences summarized above globally reflect growth and change within educational administration. As far as a being a woman is concerned, former appointees were not accepted as equals by the male majority of principals with whom they worked. They remained on the outside and chose to do so because they were not male principals and realized that, despite effort, they could never become a natural part of the group. In proceeding to be themselves and following their own individual paths they realized that they were different. They found their own voices, their voices as women.

Recent women appointees also reflect this perception of themselves as different. However, they have gone one step further to embrace the fact of their gender, accentuating and highlighting the feminine character of their leadership. To apply Carol Gilligan's (1982) phrase, these women speak collectively as principals "in a different voice". What they clearly articulate as theirs is a leadership that is not traditionally male, but one that is stamped by the fact that they are women. In their commentary on their lives, their experiences and their goals these women, whether feminist or not individually, have articulated distinctive values and are beginning to reshape the world of educational administration to include the woman's voice.

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